1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

175 792 In historical times Wira Dalĕm Kesari is mentioned as the founder of the temple. In him we can probably see the Kesari Warmadewa of an inscription dating from around 913 A.D.[35] In that day the temple may have been a Buddhist sanctuary, and at the same time the state temple of the Warmadewa dynasty. Even up to the present century the rule has been observed that only a Buddhist *pĕdanda* accompanying the ruler as his court priest may enter Pura Bĕsakih. Later the founder of the dynasty of Gelgel was brought into a special relation with Mahadewa, the deity of Pura Bĕsakih.[36] Two temple charters dating from around 1450 probably owe their origin to that prince. Since that time the deified dead of the dynasty have been worshipped in Bĕsakih, and the temple has thus become the royal ancestral sanctuary, first of Gelgel and later of Klungkung. It is, then, not surprising that a charter also mentions *merus*[37] for five rulers of the Gelgel dynasty.

The Hindu trinity is also associated with the temple of Bĕsakih.[38] Such a connection with the highest gods of the Hindu pantheon is quite in keeping with the important place of the temple in the Balinese world picture.[39]

It can be seen, then, that various elements of Balinese culture and religion have contributed to the complex of phenomena related with Bĕsakih temple as it is today.

(*e*) The *Usana Bali*, discussed above, was a product of the royal sphere, written at the Javanized court at Gelgel. A copy of it, however, is to be found among the sacred manuscripts of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, a traditional *desa* with an *adat* like that of the *Bali-aga*, the non-Javanized Hindu-Balinese. Moreover the *Usana* considers Balinese religion and culture as imported from India. But when one scrutinizes the religious festivals and ceremonies listed in it, one wonders how Hindu gods could have imported elements which appear to have been early indigenous rather than Hindu.

545 198 (*f*) As a final point reference may be made to the 'interpreters' on the Balinese stage. When the hero and heroine in some *genres* of Balinese drama recite their parts they do so in a sort of Java-

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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nized Balinese which is nearly incomprehensible to onlookers from among the ordinary people. The latter are only able to enjoy the dialogue thanks to a pair of interpreters. According to their rôle in the play these interpreters are no more than servants, but to judge from their function within the whole they might better be called main characters. Apart from their interpreting they are virtuosi in the contriving and committing of buffoonery. Their pantomiming, clowning, and acrobatic feats, and their duels in repartee, arouse constant gales of hilarity. Their primary function, however, is to mediate between two worlds: *via* them the ordinary man shares in the dramatic art of the royal sphere. Their rôle is in a way symbolic of the interplay of cultural elements we have been considering in this section, further examples of which will be encountered in the following chapters.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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like landscapes in which every branch and every leaf is carefully painted, done with the love of a Persian miniaturist, a Cranach, a Breughel or a Douanier Rousseau.

When I could speak fair Malay, I discovered it was not enough. Malay was the trade language between Balinese and foreigners, spoken mainly by the new generations of the towns, so I started to learn a little Balinese to be able to understand the most interesting people of the island – the older men and women – but just then we had to leave our new home to return to America. On the way back we stopped in Paris, where the Colonial Exposition was going on. There we found friends from Bali – the Tjokordes of Ubud, feudal lords of Spies's village, the leaders of the troupe of dancers and musicians that were the sensation of the exposition. With them I continued to study the difficult Balinese language, because I had then and there made up my mind to return to Bali as soon as possible. I had some random notes, and Rose had taken hundreds of photographs. Someone in Paris suggested publishing an album of the pictures, with text from the notes, which I later decided were disconnected and quite unsatisfactory. We had grown so homesick for Bali that the only thing left to do was to return, so in the summer of 1933, partly assisted by a generous scholarship from the Guggenheim Foundation and partly with our savings, we sailed back to Bali.

At first we were disappointed; the tourist rush was in full swing and we began to hear that missionaries, unknown in Bali up to the time we left, were making converts, and everybody talked of trouble on their account. In Den Pasar a great many women had taken to wearing clumsy blouses, the young were developing contempt for Balinese ways, and the people complained of poverty, another novelty in Bali. Dutch gold currency had gone up, and even there, where trade is unimportant, prices had crashed to bottom levels. Only twenty-five cents could be obtained for one of the great sheafs of rice that before brought ten times as much; a cow could be bought for five guilders, and a pig for one. The Balinese were unable to obtain cash to pay back taxes, and their

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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191 dreadful insult to speak of someone's head as *tandas*, meaning
564 the head of animals.
576 The type of language used in conversation is prescribed by one of the strict rules of caste etiquette, and the use of the wrong form is a serious offence. A prince has to be addressed as "highness" (*Ratú* or *Agung*), but he and the people of his caste talk to everybody in the low language, except perhaps to their parents, elder brothers, and members of the priestly caste, the Brahmanas. Polite people (not all high-born people are considered polite) are supposed to address old people in the high language.

198 There is still a fourth language, the Kawi, used on ritual occa-
197 sions, in poetry and classic literature. It is archaic Javanese, in which nine out of ten words are Sanskrit; but the knowledge of Kawi rests almost entirely with the priests and scholarly Balinese.

191 The language problem of Bali has been further complicated by the addition of Malay, now officially the language of the
178 Dutch East Indies. It is taught in the schools and is spreading rapidly among the Balinese youth because it is considerably simpler than the difficult Balinese and is free of the caste regulations. Thus a modern Balinese scholar would require five languages for social and cultural intercourse: the high, middle, and low Balinese, plus Kawi and Malay. Such a linguist is not rare today in Bali.

THE CASTES

564 The Hindu caste system as it is found today in Bali was not
177 firmly implanted until after the conquest by the famous Gadja Mada. Then Hindu-Javanese rule was definitely established and the island was divided into vassal territories paying tribute to the local princes that were given control. The natives lived under a
[565] class system of their own long before that time, however. They had their ranks, with a sort of aristocracy that combined government and priesthood.

184 Hindu-Javanese penetration did not reach many of the remote
564 mountain communities, which remained outside the feudal ter-

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kebiyar it is necessary to have what the Balinese call a "good" face, expressive and mobile, and to possess elegance, intensity and personal magnetism, besides highly finished technical training. Mario had great musical knowledge and one of his specialties was to play the *trompong* while he danced, twirling the sticks in his fingers and moving with great agility along the scale of inverted bronze bowls. The *kebiyar* was very popular during Mario's time, especially among the men. It was frequently performed as an interpretation of *kekawin*, epic poems chanted in the archaic language by expert story-tellers, while Mario translated into movement the episodes of the poems with that curious detachment of pure rhythm and abstract gesture so typically Balinese. Good dancers of *kebiyar* are rare today; of Mario's pupils, only one, I Gusti Rake, also of Tabanan, has inherited Mario's intensity and style, and he is becoming as famous as Mario once was.

THE SHADOW-PLAY

MYSTICISM AND SLAPSTICK

Perhaps poetry and the drama were born in Bali with the introduction of the great epics of the Hindus, the famous *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. They came by way of Java as propaganda for the ancient Hindus and as part of their religious teachings. The semi-divine protagonists of the poems, the princes Rama and Ardjuna, gods reincarnated to save the world, soon captured the popular imagination with their romantic adventures and their fantastic wars against evil. They not only became the idols, the heroes, models of conduct for the Balinese, but were accepted as the ancestors and ideal of the race.

The early religious teachers of Java rewrote the great Indian works into the local literary language, the Kawi, archaic Javanese, in which nine out of every ten words are Sanskrit. The rich and flowery Kawi is today the classical language of poetry (*kawi* means "poet") used by Balinese intellectuals, who have con-

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198 538 tinued to practise it, keeping it as alive as it was in Java during the golden age of Hinduism before it fell into neglect at the advent of Islamism. It was not without reason that Raffles wrote in his *History of Java:* "The ancient mythological poems are preserved in Bali in more correct form than in Java."

533 538 The poems are written in stanzas based on the Sanskrit metre (*sloka*), which the Balinese have developed into as many as forty-seven different poetical measures that are particularly well suited to singing. These are given out to the masses by story-tellers who chant the Kawi texts while an interpreter explains them in ordinary Balinese. The people soon learned the Kawi poems by heart, although they do not understand the actual words and chant them purely for the sake of their musical metre. Today even boys of the common classes gather at night for hours to sing in Kawi, though the meaning of the songs may be obscure to them. Musical accompaniments were eventually added to the epic songs, and story-telling developed into a fine art in the form called *kekawin*, in which a large orchestra plays interludes between the episodes and dialogues recited and translated by two story-tellers.

536 538 177 The episodes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* remain the most important literary works that the Balinese have appropriated for their own literature, and they have influenced the theatre to a great extent. But there are countless other stories, Javanese, native, even Chinese, that make the bulk of the literature of Bali, now being compiled by the Kawi scholars of Bali, Java, and Holland.

536 [775] [769] Out of an ancient shamanistic performance in which the ancestors were brought to this world in the form of shadows to communicate with their descendants, came the *wayang kulit*, the shadow-plays — a performance by marionettes (*wayang*) that cast their shadows on a screen and are manipulated by a mystic story-teller, the *dalang*. In olden times the *wayang* may have represented the forefathers and the *dalang* the priest, but in all probability the Hindu teachers of early times took advan-

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are romantic episodes of memorable love affairs of princes and princesses, generally full of fantastic situations and with a distinct erotic flavour. The distinguished characters speak and sing in kawi, which is translated into common Balinese by the comedians for the benefit of the unscholarly crowd. The comedy is incredibly funny and rough slapstick, sprinkled with all sorts of bawdy jokes.

Besides the traditional stories, there are popular new plays such as *Sampik* and *Tuan Wei*, adaptations of Chinese love stories that started in 1924 as bastard performances with actors in European clothes playing on mandolins. Eventually these stories became thoroughly Balinese and were incorporated in the *ardja*.

THE DJANGER

An inevitable sight for the newly arrived tourist every Saturday morning was the *djanger*. Under the hanging roots of a great *waringing*, or banyan tree, in the central square of the village, sat a dozen boys and a dozen girls in groups of six, forming a square, the girls facing the girls, the boys opposite each other; a dance master, the *daag*, sat in the centre. The boys wore blue sashes and red hibiscus over their ears; the girls had great fan-shaped head-dresses of flowers and were wrapped in gilt cloth from the armpits to the feet. The boys shouted and shook while the girls sang with baby voices, flinging their hands and flashing their eyes. After a while a girl appeared dressed as a prince, singing and posturing, quarrelling with a wild-looking bird, an actor with a frightful mask, wings, and a bright-coloured tail. The show ended with the death of the bird, shot by an arrow of the prince. Half of the tourists looked on, while the other half snapped pictures furiously. The performance was picturesque and justified the fee, but somehow it did not ring true. Despite the fact that the elaborate show was held on the open road, it attracted only a few children, and the dancers seemed bored and indifferent.

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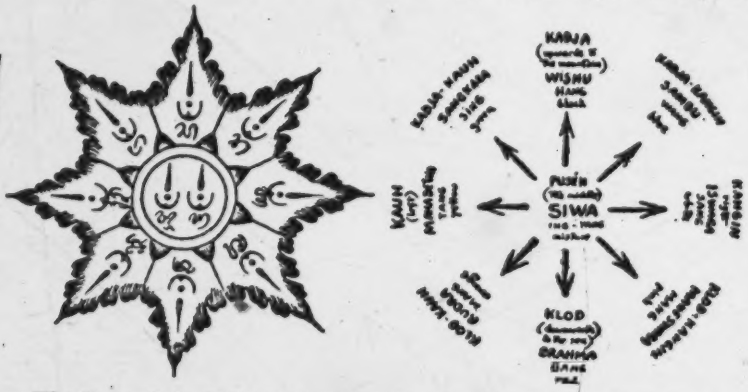
793 I have seen ceremonies with nine priests officiating, one for each
795 of the cardinal points.

779 From India the Brahmanic priests inherited a good portion
793 of the sacred Sanskrit writings of the Hindus, such as portions
[177] of the Vedas, called in Bali Weda, containing the most powerful secret formulas for the private use of the priests; the *Brahmanda-Purana*, a treatise on cosmogony, mythology, and mythic

[822]
[823]



The Rose of the Winds, the *Nawa Sangga*, with the Cardinal Directions, Their Patron Gods, Their Corresponding Syllables, and the Colour of each

chronology; and the *Tuturs*, the doctrinal writings of the
[198] *pedandas*. In this manner the priests preserved the knowledge of Sanskrit, the really sacred language of Bali, which is, however, only known by the name of *sloka*, the metre in which Sanskrit works are written. The learning of Sanskrit is kept a secret among the priests and should not be confused with the *Kawi*, which is only the classic language of poetry, well known to the nobility and to scholars in general.

788 From the scriptures the priests obtained the all-powerful
778 *mantras*, formulas of magic words recited, or rather mumbled inwardly, accompanied by special gestures to give added emphasis to this abracadabra. *Mantras* consist of litanies of praise, each phrase preceded by mysterious sounds, syllables that are

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cremation of the Regent of Buleleng's daughter, a small pavilion caught fire near where the high priest performed the *maweda*, almost burning, prematurely, the corpse lying in state; the priest went on with his prayer totally unmindful of the wild screams of the women attendants and the rushing relatives, who extinguished the flames.

To become himself again, the priest sprinkles water towards him and "drives back his soul into the stomach." He takes off his ornaments and pins a little bouquet of multi-coloured flowers over his hair knot. This ends the ceremony, and he sprinkles his relatives and neighbours with the remaining holy water.

Despite the secrecy with which the priests surround the knowledge of the Sanskrit *mantras*, a good many of them have been studied and translated by Dutch and Javanese scholars, such as De Kat Angelino, R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, and Dr. R. Goris, and I refer those interested in *mantras* to their works. Most sacred of all the aphorisms of the *pedandas*, and as typical as any, is the *kuta mantra*: "OM, HRAM HRUM SAH, PARAMA-SHÎVA-DITYÂTA NAMAH: Om, hram hrum sah, praise be to the all-high Shiva, the Sun" (Goris).

Religious knowledge is transmitted from father to son or from teacher (*gurú*) to pupil (*sisiya*). The priest then becomes his pupil's absolute master and his father; even in case there be no blood relationship between them, marriage with the teacher's daughter would be considered as incest, a most dreadful crime. All Brahmanas are eligible to become *pedandas* with the exception of lepers, madmen, epileptics, the deformed, and those who have received dishonourable punishments. The pupil learns Kawi first, the classic language, to study the preparatory texts; is taught the moral principles by which to rule his life, which are, according to De Kat Angelino, the capital sins: crime, greed, hypocrisy, envy and ill temper, morbidness; the five commandments for the outer world: Thou shalt not kill, not steal, be chaste, not be violent, adhere to the principle of passive resistance; and those for the inner self: avoid of impure foods, or

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793 anger, remain conscious of the teachings, and be in unison with
[577] the teacher.

Later on, he studies Sanskrit (*sloka*) and learns the Wedas.
[198] Eventually he is initiated by his teacher in a most elaborate ceremony, which I know only by hearsay, in which the teacher leads the hands of his pupil with his own hands to perform his first *maweda*. The pupil makes repeated reverences (*sembah*) to his teacher and to the sun, washes and kisses his teacher's feet, and receives his priestly credentials, a secret document containing powerful formulas written on a blade of *lontar* palm. I have been told that the pupil "dies" symbolically during the ceremony and is reborn as a priest, and that his body is then washed and treated exactly like a corpse.

771 As conclusion, we find that the amazing conglomerate of traditions, beliefs, and philosophies that together constitute the Balinese religion, one that is as complex and tangled as can be found anywhere today, alone is the most powerful motivating force to the entire life of the island. Our knowledge of Bali is as young as the history of its contacts with the West, and a good deal will have to be unravelled before we can have a clear picture of that unique product of tropical Asia, the character of the Balinese, which is reflected in the fantastic interpretation of
177 religious ideas from India, China, and Java. These were at times
771 assimilated with a sense of practical logic, at times obviously misunderstood; but the result was a healthy and thoroughly Balinese manner of belief. Despite Hinduistic deviations, religious symbols and ideas retained much of their original, primitive simplicity, and fanaticism and idolatry did not overshadow the ancient animist worship of nature and of the elements.

771 Whatever the source of these ideas may be, the Balinese worship the sun, the earth, and water as sources of life-giving fertility; fire is a purifying element. The sea receives offerings once a year in a great feast in Lebih on the Gianyar coast. Also sources of fertility, and the dwellings of the gods, are the moun-

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

796 [788] [789] [198] formulae are recurrent in the ritual, as if they could not be too often repeated. Next to these in frequency are the *apologia*, in which the priest begs the gods' pardon for any lack in prayers and ceremonial. They have been handed down intact in the ancient Sanskrit verses, and if the priest does not know the meaning of the words themselves, he knows that their meaning is to express humility. With them go the prayers for the forgiveness of sins, for mercy and protection, which have also come down from the past in a form very close to the Sanskrit *sloka*.

[788] [789] By far the greater part of the prayers is bound up with the ritual, and intoned by the priest. The members are not expected to pray. They confine their devotions to the gesture of reverence and the receiving of holy water. There is room for individual prayers only with the dedication of thank-offerings, given in return for favors received. For the populace worship consists of deeds rather than words. It is the work which they do in preparation for the festival, and during its course, which constitutes their chief participation. All together they derive their true religious experience from the presence of the gods in the temple for the three days of their visit. The priest serves as their spokesman. No more direct communication between worshippers and deity is considered necessary.

[787] When during the course of a festival, or at some private rite, any of the gods' subjects go into trance, the occurrence is interpreted as a religious experience, a setting up of direct communication between the gods and the living. The entranced speaks as a god with whose presence he is imbued. The god may give answers then to the questions put to him. And, for the time that the holy presence is manifest, all honor and respect are accorded the deity in the person of the entranced. This phenomenon is seen as a complete parallel to the descent of the gods into the little figures of the temple. And when the time has come for the holy presence to withdraw, just as at the festival, with incense and holy water the gods are politely asked to depart.

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER ONE

Order and Variation in Ritual

It is possible for the student of Balinese ritual to discern, after many years of attendance at these recurring festivals in different villages, a sort of skeleton form common to all of them, a pattern whose broad lines are the same regardless of local variations. Each temple has its own fixed program of ceremonial in which the sequence of events is not varied from year to year. Two temples in a single village may follow a different order of events, a purification ceremony which, by customary usage takes place in the one on the first day of the festival, occurs in the other on a later day. Each sticks to its own usage, and if the priest of the second temple were for some reason unable to officiate, and the priest from the first temple were asked to substitute for him, the order of ritual customary in the temple would be followed, not that of the visiting priest. Neither of these priests would be able to give an outline of the skeleton form which is common to the two temples. They would be able to point out differences, and, with considerable difficulty and many lapses of memory, could relate the order of events which they have learned to follow. Our method was to make notes of the procedure followed and the words spoken, and then afterwards to ask the priest for his explanation of the ritual passages and phrases. Often a passage which was obscure in meaning would become clearer by comparison with the corresponding rite in other localities. For example, when the gods go "to the bath" (*ke bédji*), a sprinkling of a few drops of water in their direction may be all that is done, whereas in another village the god-figures may receive a thorough shower-bath, water poured over them, and a careful anointing afterward with the contents of the "toilet tray" (*pebersihan*). This toilet-tray will be found to be present among the offerings even for the most sketchy of bath rituals. Not infrequently the contents of the offerings for a specific rite would serve to identify it in another locality, where it went by a different name.

The prayer formulae or *mantras* repeated by the priests in the course of the ritual may be of some assistance in throwing light on the significance of a ceremonial passage, but as often as not one would find that the priest either misunderstood the formula he repeated, or disclaimed any knowledge of its meaning, saying "I would not dare to understand that." The *mantras* are in the so-called old language, Old Javanese and Old Balinese, and some Sanskrit verses are preserved in a form not too utterly corrupted to be beyond recognition by Sanskrit scholars.

Bali OF7
Malays AN5
Sumatra OD1

B1 [410 cont.]
564 title for Wesja is gusti, for the women gusti aju. The sovereigns,
643 however, are called hanak agung or anak agung = exalted, distinguished, or great person.

B1 [411] The caste of the Sudra is the one of the common
564 people. They are entirely subject to the higher castes, so much
198 so that the latter deal with their possessions as they please.
576 Moreover, there is a difference in language between the three higher castes and the Sudra. The former address the latter in the vulgar language (basa sogol, basa dĕgag, basa djaba), whereas the lowest caste speaks to the higher ones in the high language (basa bakti, basa puri), which the higher castes speak to one another.

B1 One can be reduced from a higher caste to a lower one
558 for wrongdoing. Also, after a war the vanquished are sometimes
681 dealt with in this way. Meanwhile, it seems that the caste dif-
727 ference here is gradually beginning to fade.
177

The tjĕndĕla = unfortunates, outcastes, form a separate
B1 group which is made up of persons suffering from incurable
564 diseases, especially leprosy, and are banished from society, re-
164 gardless of the caste to which they belong. They drag out a
558 miserable existence in some isolated place.

d. Sumatra

S
M1 Where royal rule exists on Sumatra, one finds a quite
643 marked division into two standings, the nobility and burgher
565 standing. We shall give a few examples, beginning with Palembang. Formerly Palembang formed a state of this name with a sultan at the head, which fell when the sultan was removed on August 9, 1825. The distinction that existed between the nobility and the common class at the time of the sultan's rule continued, however. To the former belonged first of all the
M1 descendants of the sultan, the prijaji, with the title of pangéran,
S radĕn, or other Javanese noble names, depending on their closer
651 or more distant relationship with the sovereign. The prijaji at
642